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# A triumph for movement against nuclear arms SWISS WIN RIGHT TO H-BOMB REFERENDUM FROM RALPH HEGNAUER

*Our Swiss correspondent, a member of the War Resisters' International, has been imprisoned several times for refusing military service and has refused to pay his taxes as a protest against war preparations. He is also a member of Service Civil Internationale and has served as Secretary and President of this international work-camp movement.*

## STAFFORDSHIRE CD EXERCISE

### EVEN THE THUNDERSTORM WAS A FRAUD

"More than a thousand people in rural areas of Staffordshire were taken from their homes yesterday in operation "Exodus," a Civil Defence Exercise in handling a large number of families made homeless in a nuclear war. A violent thunderstorm which broke just before the start caused many of the volunteer evacuees to cry off. Originally more than two thousand people had volunteered."

—Manchester Guardian, May 11, 1959.

This is what our reporter on the spot, Tony Sherratt, has to say:

THIS Civil Defence exercise was based on the assumption that a 1-megaton bomb—only one—had dropped in the Manchester area. North Staffordshire was in the fall-out area and, if people could be evacuated quickly enough, they would be saved. The object of the exercise was, therefore, to move people from outlying areas into Kidsgrove, Newcastle and Stafford (incidentally this meant that many would be "evacuated" to places nearer to the explosion).

On Friday and Saturday two of the districts involved, the mining villages of Hamerend and Audley, were thoroughly leafleted by members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. As far as possible our supporters talked with the local people, urging them not to take part in the exercise, and the response was remarkably good. The reaction was so favourable that with the contacts made, it is hoped that an Audley Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will soon be established.

#### No hostility

On the day of the exercise (Sunday) about 40 supporters of the Campaign turned out and we were able to cover both the sources of the evacuation and the reception centres at Kidsgrove and Newcastle, distributing our own leaflets. Again we encountered no hostility. Indeed, it was very noticeable the way those taking part carefully read our literature and soberly discussed the matter among themselves and with our people. Leaflets were distributed to passers-by and to houses around the concentration points. Over 3,000 leaflets were distributed in all. The Stafford CND Group held a poster parade in their town.

The exercise was something of a flop, despite Civil Defence claims. The authorities had predicted that 3,000 people would take part but we estimated the turn-out at well under 1,000.

The official explanation for the poor turn-out was fantastic—they said that this was a result of a "violent thunderstorm." In actual fact, apart from a few spots in the morning, the only thunderstorm happened an hour after the exercise had

Civil Defence officials on the spot considered that our activities had been largely responsible.

The day was rounded off with an open-air meeting in Hanley Market Square, at which eight campaign supporters spoke. Again a good leaflet distribution was done.

A DELEGATION from the Swiss Movement Against Nuclear Rearmament has handed in the signatures of 73,339 male citizens to the Chancellery of the Federal Government at Berne asking for a popular referendum to decide about the equipment of the Swiss army with nuclear weapons.

Fifty thousand signatures are the number required by the Constitution of our country to make it compulsory for both Government and Parliament to bring an issue to the vote within three years.

#### Anti-H-bomb vigil at U.S. Air Base

SOME 75,000 visitors at a US Air Base at Wethersfield last Saturday saw the banners of nuclear disarmament demonstrators at this year's "Open-Day."

Sixty-four people marched nine miles from Colchester to Wethersfield after an open-air meeting chaired by Donald Smith of the Colchester Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which had sponsored the demonstration, reports John Brand.

This year both gates were picketed and in the afternoon more supporters arrived from Loughton, Halstead and the Quaker School at Saffron Walden, swelling the number of participants to 102.

The spirit of the enterprise can be summed up by the non-violent wording of the end banner: "Yes to American friendship—No to H-bombs." The value of this type of demonstration was shown by the good relations with the British police and the American guards and servicemen.

Direct Action's newly acquired jeep "April the Carter" brought Will Warren to Braintree from Watton where he is directing the campaign against the East Anglian rocket bases. Colchester CND intend to repay their debt by picketing at Watton at week-ends and invite others to do the same.

The signatories want the Government to forbid the "manufacturing, stocking, buying, selling or transporting of any weapon with an atomic basis or parts within the boundaries of the Swiss Confederation."

The Swiss Movement Against Nuclear Rearmament which organised the "Initiative" for the referendum and collected the signatures is well aware that its biggest task lies ahead. Many more people have to be acquainted with the dangers of nuclear rearmament and the moral impossibility of using nuclear weapons.

#### Constructive alternative

The even more important issue will be to present constructive alternatives to what is considered in Switzerland as the "most efficient deterrent" to aggression against our freedom and democracy: a Swiss Army equipped with nuclear weapons. Public discussion has still to be stimulated, although it seems that passionate exchanges of views are already going on among members of the Swiss Society of Officers.

It will be up to the Government to decide at what date the referendum will be held. While waiting for the announcement of the date the Movement will consider how best it can make the public aware of the importance of the issue, not only for Switzerland but also for other countries. We think it would be an encouragement to opponents of nuclear armaments everywhere if one country decided by a popular vote to ban them.

#### IN AN UNARMED WORLD Everyone would be an inspector

NEARLY 400 people put their questions in London's Caxton Hall last week on the theme "Is Peace Possible?"

A panel of pacifists and non-pacifists replied on topics over a wide field including the United Nations, Mr. Khrushchev, Strontium 90, Hungary and the responsibility of people.

The meeting was organised by the Peace Pledge Union.

Answering questions from the audience were the Quaker scientist Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale; Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union; and Vicky, world famous cartoonist who regularly embarrasses politicians and the editors for whom he works.

News Chronicle columnist James Cameron, who had hoped to appear also, was in New Delhi covering the Tibetan crisis. His place on the panel was taken by Michael Tippett, the composer and President of the PPU. In the Chair was PPU Chairman Sybil Morrison.

#### Refusing work

A follow-up session will be held in the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, June 2, at 7.30 p.m. The panel will include London University geneticist, Professor Lionel Penrose, J. Allen Skinner, Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison.

"Professor Penrose is one of a team which has recently made extremely important discoveries in relation to the variant in the normal number of genes to be found in mentally defective children," Stuart Morris told Peace News on Tuesday.

"He will only just be back from an important conference on genetics at Naples and a World Health Organisation meeting on backward children in Milan where he expects to meet Russian colleagues in the same field of research."

Answering a question about scientists refusing to work on nuclear weapons Kathleen Lonsdale reminded the audience that engineers and technicians, not scientists, were the principal people concerned with the actual production of nuclear weapons; though they could give a strong moral lead "one that the Church does not seem ready to give" by refusing to work for the Ministry of Supply.

Her emphasis on individual attitudes and action came out again in a discussion on whether nations would "keep to the rules" if they disarmed, or would secretly rearm.

The whole safeguard is that every person in the world would be an interested "inspector," opposing any rearmament and reporting any moves in that direction to an international authority.



Contingents from all the Universities and main towns in Scotland were among the 1,200 who marched through Glasgow in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demonstration on May 2.

# UNESCO's Gandhi

GENE SHARP reviews

**All Men are Brothers: Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as Told in his own Words.** With an Introduction by S. Radhakrishnan. Paris, 1958, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. xvi., 196 pp, 12s. 6d., \$2.50, 750fr.

Most of my doubts, however, were dispelled. The selection is generally good and the book can serve a useful role of providing a relatively brief introduction to Gandhi's attitudes and beliefs on a variety of subjects. The French and Spanish editions to be issued by UNESCO are to be welcomed. I hope that other translations will also be made.

This volume, however, has weaknesses, perhaps only one of which is serious. Insufficient consideration has at times been given to the developing nature of Gandhi's views. This is particularly noticeable, for example, in the section on economics, where the selection gives, in my view, an excessive emphasis on the theory of trusteeship and tolerance of capitalism and seriously neglects his later more radical thinking on economic systems, the role of the masses in social revolution, and the building of a non-violent social order.

The dates of the various quotations are nowhere given in the volume; this means that a quotation made, say, in 1914, is evaluated by most readers on the same

level as one on the same general subject made, say, in 1947. Some misimpressions are thus possible.

Another related weakness, in my view, is that there appears to be a considerably disproportionate inclusion in the latter part of the first chapter of passages describing instances where Gandhi felt himself torn between two principles in meeting a practical situation, and in which he made a decision that admittedly could not be justified in terms of his basic philosophy, *Satya* (Truth) and *Ahimsa* (non-violence).

These cases certainly existed, but the amount of space devoted to them is out of all proportion to their role in Gandhi's life. Most of the instances are taken from Gandhi's earlier years and the fact that this is not indicated and the length of the passages included may give the reader, therefore, the impression that Gandhi's later thinking was equally rent with such internal conflict and conscious compromises of principle.

Another indication of the insufficient attention to the evolving nature of Gandhi's thought and a cause of the occasional disproportion is the editor's exclusion of the two collected volumes "Non-violence in Peace and War" from the volumes from which quotations were selected. The other sources from which selections were chosen do not replace these volumes.

Despite these and a few other minor reservations on the volume, however, the

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\* All exploitation is based on co-operation, willing or forced, of the exploited. However much we may detest admitting it, the fact remains that there would be no exploitation if people refused to obey the exploiter. But self comes in and we hug the chains that bind us. This must cease.  
\* \* \*

Every good movement passes through five stages, indifference, ridicule, abuse, repression and respect. . . . Every movement that survives repression, mild or severe, invariably commands respect which is another name for success. This repression, if we are true, may be treated as a sure sign of approaching victory. But, if we are true, we shall neither be cowed down nor angrily retaliate and be violent. Violence is suicide.  
\* \* \*

\* Never has anything been done on this earth without direct action.—Gandhi, From "All Men Are Brothers."

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over-all quality and general balance is good. It is the best selection of Gandhi's views on a variety of fields that I have seen in so small a volume.

UNESCO has given a lead by publishing this volume. Is there now even one Government which will appropriate some funds for examining the relevance of Satyagraha and other types of non-violent resistance to the achieving and preservation of freedom and other human values in the nuclear age?

Our reviewer is studying totalitarianism and non-violent resistance at the Institute for Social Research at Oslo.

It is an extremely difficult task to prepare a relatively brief selection of Gandhi's writings since he never attempted to write a systematic presentation of his personal and social philosophy. Thus anyone attempting to prepare a reasonably balanced presentation of Gandhi's over-all views and beliefs is faced with the task of reconstructing this.

There is the additional difficulty that Gandhi's philosophy was constantly in the process of development and evolution.

Consequently, it was with considerable reservations that I approached this volume.

## Building kinship across the frontiers

By MARY STUART

IN July, 1957, in a school at Gallivare ("Lapland's Heart") some 60 kilometres north of the Arctic Circle, nine women and 19 men gathered together to help construct a road which would lead to a children's recreation centre on top of the local Dundret Hill.

They had travelled from eleven different countries, including India and America, hitch-hiking or paying their own fares, or with Church grants, armed with strong working clothes, sleeping bags, mosquito ointment and a high degree of spirit, to dig, clear ditches and level the road surface for 44 hours a week. They worked stolidly at first in the bitter cold and then through the blazing weeks of an Arctic heatwave, constantly plagued by horse-flies and mosquitoes.

Meanwhile the townsfolk and press watched curiously . . . a little pitying and perhaps amused. Were these people mad who worked without pay in a foreign land for folk they had never known, whose tongue they did not speak, and under such different and trying conditions? Would they not regret this undeniably generous gesture and leave before long for the comforts of home?

### Difficulties vanished

But, as weeks passed, it was obvious they would not. It became apparent, too, that the difficulties which beset the cosmopolitan crowd at first—language barriers, national prejudices and strange environment—had disappeared with the crown of snow on Dundret Hill.

When, six weeks later, the time came to leave, the last volunteers said "Goodbye" with sadness in the heart but secure in the knowledge that their task was complete. For even though the road was unfinished

they had helped "to create a spirit of friendship between nations through voluntary, constructive service" which is the aim of the international work camp movement.

It was not an isolated incident. In this way each year men and women from all parts of the globe rally to help the oppressed, the sick, the homeless and lonely, without regard to race, colour or creed—wherever the need is greatest or opportunity affords. Amidst top-level tension and racial turmoil they go about their work, mostly of the "pick and shovel" type, quietly scattering a few seeds of international goodwill amongst ordinary folk. For they are ordinary, too; they are not fanatics. They are adaptable, have a good sense of humour, and have turned their love of adventure to good account.

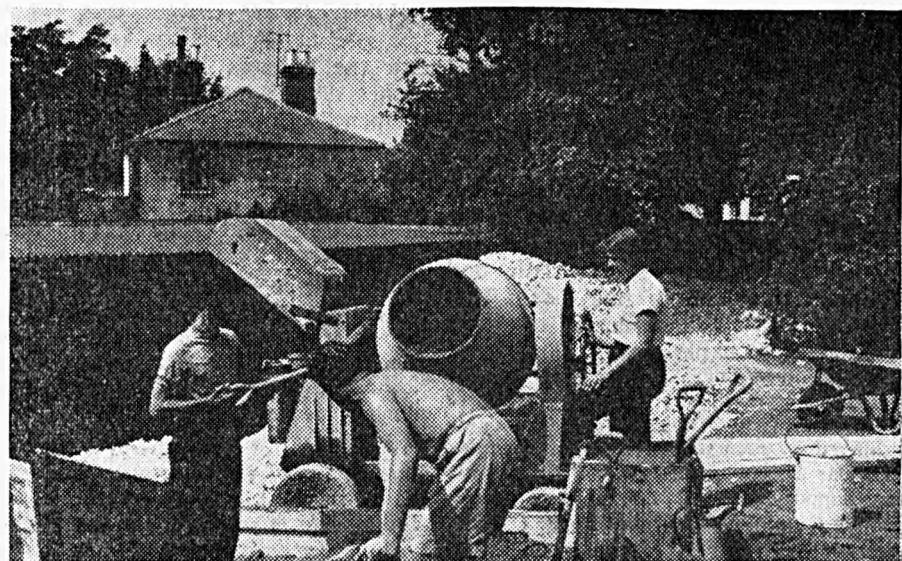
### India's call answered

The idea of this Service Civil International (the French title) was first conceived by a great man of peace, Pierre Ceresole, from Switzerland (home of the International Red Cross and League of Nations) soon after the First World War. It was supported whole-heartedly by his immediate circle of friends and the ripples of enthusiasm spread gradually to other lands. The response was overwhelming from those who sought a substitute for the excitement and comradeship of war.

For many years the work camps were confined to Europe and then, in 1934, came the first call for help outside—from earthquake-stricken India. In North Bihar the worst shocks had been felt over an area of 15,000 miles; whole towns were reduced to ruins and crops destroyed in the ensuing deluge, for the Ganges burst its banks. The people were panic-crazed.

After consultations with Gandhi, Pierre Ceresole went to India with Joe Wilkinson of Normanton, Yorkshire, and enough funds to pay 50 peasants' wages for six months. A small contribution, one might say, but not insignificant, for a task of reconstruction began during which they earned the esteem and affection of the native folk.

Help was needed in Britain at that time, not to fight earthquake or flood, but the grim spectre of unemployment with its



A Turkish, German and British volunteer prepare foundations for a hospital recreation hall during a Guildford (England) work camp.

alike, there is a demand for week-end workers to assist old-age pensioners and the sick.

Thus the world-wide link was created; the "harnessing for peace all those splendid forces so far wasted in war" which was the dream of Pierre Ceresole. He died in 1945, a man "who loved and served all races," unaware that his paths of peace would stretch from Leeds to the Lebanon, or London to "Lapland's Heart."

Volunteers are urgently needed by IVS in France. At St. Paul's Ubaye (Basses Alpes) repair is now in progress of houses damaged in an earthquake. In several villages in the Department du Gard volunteers are restoring the irrigation system in an area which was flooded to make cultivation possible this summer. Contact IVS at 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1. (EUS 3195.)

Any others interested in joining the Quaker work camp in Poland from July 15-Aug. 23 should write at once to Alun Davies, Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

A vast programme of work camps is being undertaken throughout the world by over 60 different organisations. Details of the many opportunities for service this summer and after can be had from the Project List published by the Co-ordination Committee for Voluntary Work Camps, UNESCO, 2 Place de Fontenoy, Paris 7, France.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another" This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE 6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

# \*\*\*\*\* PEOPLE AND PLACES \*\*\*\*\*

## Britain's H-bomb week

**THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's nation-wide campaign week has been given the provisional dates of September 13-19. The week will immediately precede the Party conferences in the autumn and, possibly, the General Election.**

The proposal for the week came from the Architects' Group of the Campaign. Plans being considered include the picketing of rocket sites, H-bomber bases, missile factories, Downing Street and Lambeth Palace; poster parades and local marches, travelling film shows and speakers' tours, a mass-produced exhibition entitled "Our Town and the H-bomb," meetings and brains trusts of all sorts, delegations to Members of Parliament and candidates, a special broadsheet, church services and a final mass rally in the largest hall in each CND Region.

One town which recently held a CND Week was Brighton, where, after preliminary fireworks in the local Press, a series of activities were held.

There was a 250-strong poster parade in pouring rain which was shown on Southern Television; a deputation to the local MP; a medical brains trust attended by 150 people; a nuclear exhibition, "The Chance of a Lifetime," opened by actress Dame Peggy Ashcroft; a second poster parade; a week's run of the "Children of Hiroshima" film with a personal appearance by Film and TV actor Bill Owen, a member of the local committee and star of the supporting film; a meeting attended by about 100 women; a piano recital by Denis Matthews, whose generosity kept the local Committee solvent; and a final mass rally at which about 1,000 people heard speeches from Harold Steele, the Rev. Michael Scott and Michael Foot.

## WHITE SUNDAY

**A LTHOUGH every reader of Peace News will not be keeping the Christian festival of Whitsun, all will be reminded of it, if only by the holiday next Monday. White Sunday it used to be, probably because the earth was wearing its garment of white blossoms, though later because of the custom that Christening robes should be white and that confirmation candidates should wear white dresses or ties. White Sunday it still is. The festival which commemorates the gift of the Holy Spirit and the birthday of the Church is an encouragement to all who believe in the brotherhood of man and seek to ensure that the right spirit should permeate all our relationships with one another.**

The Babel which results when men seek to build for themselves gives place to the universal understanding which follows the readiness of men to seek a common purpose. The universal language which all understand, no matter what tongue they may speak, is Love.

The Peace Pledge Union is based upon a belief in the brotherhood of man and the value of each individual within it. Its members have renounced war in favour of the better way which refuses violence. It seeks to speak to all in the language of Love. As, therefore, you observe White Sunday, whether in Whitsun services in church or in some form of relaxation in the blossom-decked country-side, please spare a thought for the PPU and the work we are all pledged to do. Then turn your thought into the practical help which your donation to the PPU Headquarters Fund will mean.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1959: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £375.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Shapard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Brighton has given quite a few ideas to local Groups all over the country for the autumn.

## Visitor from South Africa

**ONE of the small group of Europeans in South Africa who oppose apartheid, and associate themselves with the Treason Trials Fund, arrived in England recently.**

He is the Rev. A. W. Blaxall, Ph.D., who will be known to many readers as Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in South Africa and secretary of the Council of Christian Churches. With his wife he is doing a particularly magnificent job among blind and deaf and dumb Africans at a settlement in Johannesburg.

While in London he will preach at St. Paul's Cathedral on Whit Sunday evening on the general theme of Christian obligations in the South African situation, with special reference to what the Churches can do. The Service starts at 6.30 p.m.

Dr. Blaxall is available as a speaker for peace organisations and may be contacted through the offices of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 185 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. (TER 5366.)

## The smilers' technique

**T**HE first of General Harrison's ten rules is that, in dealing with Communists, "always bear in mind that the man facing you is a criminal."

The US Army's research chief, Lt.-Gen. Arthur Trudeau, might have had this in mind when he warned Americans in January of the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Mikoyan's smile.

"It is easy," he explained, "to effect a grin that is a photographer's delight—this seems to be modern proof that one is a success and a great fellow—but we need a cold appraisal of the verbal vodka that flows from the Kremlin."

Only a few weeks before this Alexander Jones, managing editor of the Syracuse Herald-American, had written an editorial commentary on the recent American political campaigns. Referring to comments on new styles in election campaigning written by New York Times man James Reston, Alexander Jones wrote:

"He pointed out that one of the things candidates work hardest at today is grinning for the photographers. A candidate may be dying by inches and facing a defeat of landslide proportions, but let him get within range of a camera . . .

"The Madison Avenue advertising agencies and professional actors took over. Today they tell a candidate how to stand, how to face a camera, how to gesture, how to become the glamorous personality boy. The object is to sell yourself, phoney smile and all, as hard as possible, and to avoid any intelligent discussion of issues as completely as possible."

## Why they disappear

**NEXT time an American aircraft disappears "near the Soviet border," spare a thought for this quotation from Seabrook Hull in "Missiles and Rockets" (1958):**

"The Strategic Air Command still provides the United States with an overwhelming retaliatory ability over the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to Pentagon experts. America's 100-score Boeing B-47 Stratojet bombers plus the hundreds of B-52s now in service give the United States an overwhelming massive retaliation capability. Numerous and continuing SAC flights over the sovereign territory of the USSR demonstrate this . . .

"The clincher that demonstrates the United States capability through its SAC bombers is the fact that these aircraft continue to fly over the Soviet Union with a

relative degree of immunity. It is true that modern Russian fighters attack our bombers with major advantages of altitude, speed and manoeuvrability. It is also true that they score some hits. But so far no attacks have been made by the Russians with missiles, either because they don't have anti-aircraft missiles that are operational, or because the Reds don't want to tip their hand.

"In any case US radar and photographic mapping missions over the Russian land mass continue with a fair degree of success and immunity. This indicates that in the event of an all-out situation, SAC bombers would get through in high enough proportion to result in a major catastrophe to the Soviet Union. The Kremlin knows this."

## Students set the pace

**FROM a Peace News reader at the University of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, I hear that steady progress is being made in racial partnership.**

Inter-racial dances have been introduced and this year for the first time all three halls of residence have been made completely inter-racial.

I gather that those students who are actually tackling the job at the University find it exasperating to be criticised for not moving fast enough in this field of integration. If they can keep this pace going I should think criticism should decline.

## A crack for the whips

**THE Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War has recently announced that its Emergency Fund can help people in financial need caused by opposing nuclear weapons.**

I understand that the Fund is available to anyone who suddenly finds himself an ex-MP.

—Phyz

## Direct Action meets the villagers

*Mollie Miller and Eustace Partridge wrote the following reports after returning recently from Watton, Norfolk, where a missile base is under construction and where supporters of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, under the Committee's Field Worker Will Warren, are conducting a campaign.*

### By Mollie Miller

**O**UR activities have been chiefly leafleting, canvassing and speaking in villages on greens or in market places where Will Warren has started off to an audience of no one except ourselves—or a bus queue—and gradually people have collected and come out of their shops to listen.

At Wymondham we spoke from the Old Market Cross, right in the centre of the town. Six of us spoke, introduced by Will Warren, and on the following day there were a lot of people about and we had quite a good audience. Two policemen stood, one each side of the road, close to us, "to keep the peace" they told us afterwards, but everyone was extremely well mannered and there were no jeers or interruptions of any kind.

My general impression of the Norfolk country folk is that they are being quite sympathetic to the campaign. I went out to a number of remote farms—on the back of Will Warren's motor bike—and was thanked by several people for coming to bring them a leaflet.

The method of working for the campaign against the Watton rocket base is first of all to distribute leaflets to an entire village and district. Then to return a few days later with a copy of the petition against the bases and ask the people who have received the leaflets to sign. This I think is working very well, because it gives people here the chance to think about the subject and discuss it with their neighbours. The canvassers can often answer queries and clear up misunderstandings about uni-

lateral disarmament, when they visit later.

I only spent one afternoon canvassing. That was in Attleborough, a lovely old village where we were invited to tea with a Quaker family. The first house I visited obviously belonged to wealthy people and I expected to be met with "the great deterrent" argument. Instead, a charming woman told me she and her sister had read the leaflet and felt in entire sympathy with our cause. They both signed the petition.

Out of the twelve houses I visited six people signed. One man was abusive and called me a "damn conchie," but nobody else was unpleasant.

One woman said she had been over to Swaffham to one of the meetings. "You ought to have continued over there," she said. "You would have stopped that rocket base."

One day we went further south into West Suffolk to distribute leaflets to the village of Brandon. I called on a number of American caravan dwellers, the wives of the men who work at the Watton base. They seemed surprised that anyone should spend their time protesting against armaments. One thought I was "a paid welfare worker." Most of them seemed quite interested in the leaflets.

### By Eustace Partridge

**T**HE Watton base was picketed on Saturday, May 2, from 7.30 a.m. by supporters of the Direct Action Committee. The gate chosen was at the back of the site away from the main road, but the real object was not so much to provoke public interest as to gain the attention of workmen and talk with them if possible.

It seemed that the normal RAF uniformed guard had been withdrawn and two of the contractor's men had charge of the gate which had been locked for the occasion, and was unlocked as the workmen arrived.

The Police Superintendent had placed only one constable on duty outside, having received an assurance from Will Warren that no effort would be made to gain admittance.



Will Warren (right) with Direct Action supporters.

tance. Two men in mufti, sitting in a car outside the fence, turned out to be RAF personnel watching events.

Three demonstrators were on duty during the morning, and the police constable arranged for cups of tea for them when he went off to breakfast. They were joined by four other demonstrators who travelled down from London.

The picket finished at 3.30 p.m. when the contractor's staff had left the site.

Most of the workmen interviewed did not attempt to justify nuclear warfare but simply excused their work on the grounds that they must maintain their families by following their trade.

**POSTSCRIPT: Volunteers are needed this week-end at Watton. All forms of transport are particularly wanted. Contact the Direct Action Committee, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. (STA 7062.)**

## PEACE NEWS

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## NATO OR TALKS

**THE TOP TALKS** which started like a comic opera at Geneva on Monday have aroused no great enthusiasm.

This is because people have become utterly bored by conferences which achieve nothing. The world's politicians have demonstrated periodically their shameless capacity for sterile and meaningless talk. They put forward "responsible" proposals which are demonstrably unacceptable, and thereby earn promotion from mere politicians to "statesmen."

If people consider the future at all, the vast majority vaguely accept one of two positions:

- EITHER that such conferences should never be expected to produce results, and therefore the only course is to continue the arms race—presumably for ever.
- OR that these conferences are the only possible way forward for the human race, and therefore the only hope is to hold Top Talks as often as reasonably possible.

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**NEITHER OF THESE NOTIONS** faces certain fundamental considerations.

We can, along with a growing number of thoughtful people, dismiss the first attitude as impossibly defeatist. Today an endless arms race—concluded as ever by war—must mean the acceptance of the wiping out of a large proportion of the human race. War must clearly be put away for ever.

But the shallowness of this realisation is indicated by the popularity of the second position—that Summit talks can bring peace in our time. This is an easy attitude to adopt because it involves no great personal responsibility for the sort of world we live in—all this can be decided by the Top People.

But when we come to look at what Top People are arranging, we see that Summit talks are not genuine negotiations at all. When the Foreign Ministers or Heads of State sit down together they have all accepted three cardinal rules: come with positions pre-arranged; do not leave yourself at anything that might be a military disadvantage; concede nothing, in case it is interpreted as a sign of weakness. The bargaining and the threats can then begin.

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**THESE CONFERENCES THEMSELVES** are part of the military system of the Great Powers.

The most stupendous war-making organisations that the world has ever seen dictate the positions that the Powers will adopt at such talks. The first consideration is that all the Powers in the bloc must accept the same position. This makes Mr. Khrushchev's task much easier than that of the West because of the greater control of the Kremlin over its allied Governments.

The common desire for unity among NATO Governments has meant that the most reactionary voices have determined policy.

This was most clearly demonstrated when Mr. Dulles visited Europe in February. Dr. Adenauer and General de Gaulle were able to stand up to the American, who was beginning to show signs of tottering on the brink of flexibility. In terms of military potential France and Germany are dwarfs compared with the USA, and yet the European reactionaries got their way—in the name of NATO unity.

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**NO POWER CAN HOPE** to make much progress towards peace in such circumstances. It is the conditions themselves which must be changed. If any genuine initiative is to be made at the Summit, it will have to come from a Government which has first abandoned the NATO framework.

In Britain it has been suggested by the "responsible" men of the "Left" that some form of disengagement can be ushered in through Summit Talks. The Labour Party is busy creating the impression that a vote for Labour is a vote for disengagement.

It is perfectly clear, however, that as long as any Government welcomes the NATO strait-jacket, genuine proposals for any form of military withdrawal from central Europe will get no nearer a Summit agenda than the Imperial War Museum.

The choice before man is not which way to run the political system of the Great Powers so as to avoid destruction, for the system itself produces war. Today men have to decide how to withdraw from the whole framework of Power.

To suggest that these conferences with their retinues of military advisers can produce a solution is to bolster up this system. It is how thoughtful people face this choice which distinguishes the radical from the naive or politically hollow.

## Capital murder . . .

THE execution last week of Ronald Henry Marwood, made almost inevitable by the terms of the Homicide Act, sparked off a new wave of feeling about the retention of capital punishment in Britain. It is unfortunate that this coincides with considerable pressure in other quarters for the return to flogging and the wider use of the death penalty.

The continued increase in crimes of violence and one or two recent child murders have been responsible for these efforts, but it is fairly certain that the present Home Secretary and his advisers will not be panicked into measures in which they do not believe.

They will, however, find it difficult to agree to any reduction of the use of the death penalty, partly because the Homicide Act seemed to have been generally accepted. The campaigners who make a demonstration at the time of an execution would do well to maintain the demand for the final abolition of capital punishment.

The abolitionists nearly won in 1948; and after their defeat a compromise very similar to that of the present Homicide Act was almost laughed out of Parliament.

But the monumental evidence of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, and the obvious uneasiness about the use of the death penalty which was aroused finally by the execution of Ruth Ellis, led to the Government introducing the Homicide Act, after refusing to give time to Mr. Silverman's Bill for total abolition.

The Act seemed likely at least to reduce the total number of executions (and has done so), but public opinion, so often ignored in minor matters like making hydrogen bombs, or declaring a war, was listened to when it came to the question of murder. The Act therefore provided what was considered to be protection against the murder of policemen, murder by shooting and murder in the course of robbery.

It has not protected policemen to any greater extent than they were protected formerly, it has not led to any reduction in the use of firearms on the rare occasion (as rare as before the Act), and as for murders in the course of robbery, it has only provided some interesting legal arguments and interpretations but does not seem to have protected all the old ladies and shopkeepers who were reported to be in peril of their lives.

On the other hand, the Act which reduced the use of the death penalty has not been followed by any spate of murder. And with regard to child murders, always appalling, the average rate of 38 such murders per year over the last 15 years was followed last year by only 28—and these, of course, are almost all the murders of newly born babies or other forms of infanticide.

### . . . a bad Act

BUT the Act remains, a bad Act, illogical in its effects as it is based merely on the category of offence, whereas all modern penal laws pay some attention to the offender.

The Homicide Act makes it more difficult than ever for the Home Secretary to allow individual circumstances or character to affect his decision. He should not be criticised for the terrible decision he had to make in the case of Marwood; the responsibility is one we all share for leaving such grave decisions to be made by any man in our name.

The death of young Marwood because his victim happened to be a policeman, and the equally tragic death of the policeman who was not protected by the Act, should be the starting point for a new move to abolish capital punishment altogether.

Every few years a step is made in that direction; strangely and sadly enough this is usually the effect of a particularly unnecessary execution. Ruth Ellis died when the world thought she should be reprieved, and her death led to the Homicide Act. May we hope that the clamour about young Marwood may lead to the next stage—the final stage—in the removal of this barbaric and unprotective penalty from the law of this country.

## Lord Templewood

IT was a strange thing that Lord Templewood should die a few hours before Ronald Marwood; and it is probably a strange thing that Peace News should find any place to refer to this elder statesman. But if he failed to stand up to Laval, it should be remembered that he stood up valiantly to Churchill in introducing the first Indian reforms, which were a step to freedom.

And while he would not admit a move to abolish the death penalty when his 1938 Criminal Justice Bill was before Parliament, he withstood long pressure from his own side and from the House of Lords against his proposal to abolish flogging; in fact, his Bill was so badly delayed by this controversy that it was scrapped altogether when the war came. The Bill was reintroduced in 1948 by Chuter Ede, and Lord

Templewood then publicly admitted his former error and became supporter of the move to include the abolition of capital punishment in the Act.

He followed this by his book "The Shadow of the Gallows" and widened his interest to cover penal reform in general. He became the President of the Howard League and there is little doubt that he had considerable effect within the Conservative Party, many of whose younger members share his views on penal matters and the death penalty. The reformers and abolitionists have lost a good friend.

## Kenya's prisons . . .

THE news from Kenya last week was certainly the worst since the height of the emergency. Mr. W. H. Goudie, the coroner, reported on his investigation into the deaths of 11 Africans detained in Hola Camp as hard-core unrepentant Mau Mau. He found that the prisoners had been beaten to death by prison guards enforcing regulations approved at top level.

Mr. Goudie said that he had reached the "irresistible conclusion" that there had been a considerable amount of beating of detainees by warders during the incident at the camp on March 3. He added that the Cowan plan (drawn up by a senior prisons officer) for putting detainees to work apparently had government backing and approval and "gave intentionally or unintentionally carte blanche in forcing detainees to carry out a task."

The whole business is complicated by the pack of lies put out on the incident. "I have had the misfortune in this inquiry," the coroner commented, "not to be able to feel that a single witness of the Hola prison, staff, warders or detainees, was making any real attempt to tell me the plain unvarnished truth."

The situation is now that 11 Africans have been beaten to death, confidence in the Kenya Government has been seriously shaken and the stage is set for further bitterness. In the Kenya Legislative Council an Opposition Member, Sir Charles Markham, said that hard-core Mau Mau were beyond the pale and beyond redemption—"the very depths of humanity."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd has announced a Commission of Enquiry to go to Kenya to "advise" the Kenya Government on its detention camps. It will consist of an ex-colonial Governor, Sir George Beresford-Stooke, and Mr. Duncan Fairn, a Quaker and Director of Prisons Administration in Britain.

Its terms of reference restrict it to recommending methods of future administration of the prison camps. Since it will be considerably handicapped by this, and since it will not start until next month and must take several weeks to undertake its work and make its report, the Kenya Government meanwhile faces a stormy period.

### . . . and politics

THIS situation is particularly dangerous because Kenya's politics are approaching a further crisis. The "Emergency" is still in force, three years after the suppression of Mau Mau, which means that Africans are still not allowed to organise themselves politically by holding public meetings around the country. Even the Elected Members of the Legislative Council have to seek a permit at a fortnight's notice in order to speak in their own constituencies—and the permit can be refused or granted with severe restrictions.

When the inter-racial delegation of non-Europeans was in London from Kenya a fortnight ago it showed considerable patience in the face of an unwillingness by the Colonial Secretary to commit himself to anything. The delegation further affirmed its belief in genuine democracy and hoped that the forthcoming constitutional talks would be productive of something which gave them an honest chance in their country.

It is to such people as these that we must be looking in the coming months to see what opportunity there is for peaceful change in Kenya. Mr. Michael Blundell's recent emergence as the leader of a new "liberal" grouping has demonstrated very clearly where the real lines lie. He has failed to gain the support of either the reactionary European settlers or the non-Europeans.

This is simply because he believes it is possible to formulate a policy which will not commit itself on any major issue. The Europeans are thus frightened at a possible breach in their ranks which could threaten their political domination: the non-Europeans know very well that Mr. Blundell has no intention of backing their fundamental claims.

Mr. Blundell has done a service in demonstrating that there is no easy middle way in Kenya. There is no alternative to deciding to introduce genuine democracy and racial partnership in this troubled land.

IN PERSPECTIVE

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Nuclear disarmament and PPU

**I**N the opening paragraph of their letter (PN, May 8) Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison imply that any official association of the PPU with the anti H-bomb movement would blur the full pacifist position. I cannot agree. Association with this movement need not mean subservience to it.

Secondly, it has been my impression that PPU officers have publicly stated their opposition to the CND. Stuart Morris said at the AGM that the policy of the CND was not "to go half way to pacifism" but to go in the wrong direction. This is opposition to CND whose aim is the unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons. Granted the Campaign is uncommitted on "conventional" weapons but so long as it does not publicly support them I and other pacifists feel we can join without loss of integrity. The present PPU opposition to the Campaign, therefore, misrepresents a large proportion of PPU members.

To compare a PPU contingent on a CND march to a similar contingent on a Communist march is quite unfair. Communism as preached and practised is fundamentally opposed to pacifism—"the class war," "the dictatorship of the proletariat." I cannot believe that opposition, albeit limited to nuclear weapons, is as repugnant to pacifists as the former. I would not feel it incorrect to carry a banner: "The PPU says No to all war!" on a CND march.

The one thing we of the Pacifist Youth Action Group wanted to do, but could not, was to identify ourselves as PPU members. The function of a committee set up by the PPU would be to co-ordinate support for Direct Action and CND as PPU members, as distinct from uncommitted individuals. If the terms of reference of this committee were so defined they would not conflict with, or overlap, the functions of the official PPU Campaign Committee.

I raised the matter of personal loyalties not in order to apportion blame or to criticise individuals. It is true that delegates and members reconsidered their voting on account of personal loyalties. Issues should be decided on merit alone and in this sense the state of affairs of the Union are not as healthy as they might be.

Finally, I think we should not be sensi-

tive to the CND's anxiety at receiving official pacifist support for Nuclear Disarmament. They get support from very dubious organisations such as the British Peace Committee without complaint. If Communist front organisations don't frighten away support I don't see why pacifists should!—or are we now a bigger bogey than the Communists? —IAN DIXON, University College, Swansea.

IT is encouraging that at the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union official recognition has at last been given to the support of the vast majority of active pacifists for the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. Peace News is vindicated as representing the majority of the Peace Pledge Union.

What is disturbing, however, is the failure of the AGM to consolidate its position. Alton Group wanted to give specific instructions to the National Council and Officers to support the Direct Action Committee and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on behalf of the membership of the PPU but delegates seemed too much afraid of offending and binding them to instruct them to do so.

What do we have a National Council for? What do we pay our officers to do? Not just to advocate pacifism, but to carry out the decisions of the membership in this respect. Frankly I am not interested in giving one penny to the funds of the PPU whilst they are being wasted by people whose pacifist thinking stopped in 1939. Just how much of this year's £6,720 estimated expenditure will go to develop pacifist ideas in the nuclear age?

I know from personal experience it is easy to cling to office although you are a minority. When the Labour Party broke up its League of Youth I was a branch chairman and county secretary. I was for our carrying on, if necessary as an independent organisation. Eventually, due to lack of support from elsewhere, my county Federation decided to wind up. They quite rightly gave me as an officer certain instructions. I could not conscientiously carry them out, so I resigned. That is democracy. Officers exist to carry out instructions. If they cannot agree with them and feel strongly enough, they resign and become individual members. When an organisation fails to give full and clear instructions on matters of controversy to its officers it is negating democracy, and that is what the PPU AGM did in failing to tell its officers what specifically they should do in relation to CND and DAC.

I have every respect for Sybil Morrison as a pacifist, but surely it is ludicrous that the PPU should have as chairman a person who is completely opposed to a major decision taken at this year's AGM. Is not her rightful place in the PPU as leader of that section of the membership which opposes support for the DAC, trying to persuade others to take her point of view? The Chairmanship is not an honour for past services, however great, it is an official post and its holder should represent the majority of the movement.

Unfortunately I must recognise the truth. Those who will be most annoyed by my remarks are those who support the DAC, but are quite incapable of conceiving that they should tell those they employ at Dick Sheppard House how to use their time in support of pacifism. It is not the attitude of Sybil Morrison, but this utter irresponsibility of the majority of the membership which is really the fundamental weakness of the PPU as an effective organisation.—TED BERRON, "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants.

### Votes and the Parties

THERE may be much to learn on the subject of the "Voters' Veto" from the story of Welsh self-government.

Home Rule for Wales was one item in the policy of the Liberal Party from the 1880s on. Over 80 per cent of Welsh voters supported that Party. When the Welsh patriotic element was strong, the item was high in the programme. When the Party was in power, it was low, and the Party did nothing.

Home Rule was also an item in the policy of the Labour Party from 1910 to 1945. "The Labour Party has never de-

parted from its policy of full self-government for Wales," declared Mr. Attlee in 1939. The majority of Welshmen then supported that Party. When it obtained power, the Welsh MPs were quickly told by Messrs. Attlee, Morrison and Cripps that they would never grant Wales self-government. Almost all of the 28 Welsh Labour MPs accepted the Party line; today they are enemies of their own country's self-government.

Mr. Herbert Morrison once said it was well to "play up" to Welsh nationalist sentiment in order to win votes. Yet it was he who told Welsh Labour MPs that he "would never allow" Wales to have control over her own affairs.

It is morally wrong to "play up" to love of nation—or love of peace—in order to gain votes. It is futile to vote for Parties not wholly and irrevocably committed to one's principles.—J. E. JONES, Plaid Cymru, 8 Queen St., Cardiff.

### Votes and the Bomb

FOR many weeks I have been following with great interest the arguments in your columns for and against Voters' Veto, and until now I have not felt able to come down on one side or the other. Both sides have said a great deal that is true, and both have been guilty to some extent of avoiding direct answers to pertinent questions.

However, with the greatest respect to my good friends the Direct Actionists, I now feel that, all things considered, we ought at the General Election to vote for any member of the Labour Party—not just because it is the Labour Party, but because, as the DAC itself suggests in its broadsheet, there is a probability that that Party will go some way towards lessening the likelihood of a nuclear war (and, I feel, any other war), and a possibility that it will go a long way towards implementing CND policy (especially with our help).

The fact is admitted that the Conservative Party is firmly committed to the nuclear "deterrent" and to the retention of nuclear weapons by Britain; it is another fact that, were we to operate the Voters' Veto, the Conservative Party would be returned to office, and surely this is important: do not let us forget that several million Africans await a crucial decision that is to be made in 1960, regarding the future of the Central African Federation; or that several people in this country are clamouring for the deportation of "undesirable immigrants," and for a full return of the gallows and the cat."

I am very fortunate in being able, at the next election, to vote for an anti-Bomb Labour candidate. Were she pro-Bomb, I would be tempted to abstain, but would overcome that temptation knowing that there were other issues at stake. Even on the issue of the Bomb alone, voting for pro-Bomb Labour candidates would mean that there was a better chance of anti-Bomb members being able to sit on the government benches, which, presumably, is where we would like to see them.—MICHAEL WORRALL, 643 London Road, Merehead, Northwich, Cheshire.

THE Manchester Guardian (29.4.59) reported that when Ormsby-Gore "wound up the disarmament debate the House was composed of 50 Conservatives, 2 Liberals, and 17 Labour Members—17 representatives of the party which claims to be passionate about disarmament."

So often in PN Labour apologists allege that there are "about 70 Labour MPs opposed to the H-bomb." Where were they when there was obvious opportunity to speak against nuclear weapons, be reported and even to impress Mr. Gaitskell, who was one of the 17 Labour MPs? Or do they only appear in arguments against pacifist political action?—RONALD S. MALONE, Woolacombe House, 141 Woolacombe Road, London, S.E.3.

### March from Aldermaston

I HESITATE to join issue with Sybil Morrison but, in all humility, it seems to me that on the subject of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament she assumes blinkers and looks neither to right nor left.

Of course, we pacifists all agree with her that our only goal is to rid the world of war and that we'll be satisfied with nothing less. There is no doubt that the real enemy is war itself.

But I (and your leader writer whom I quoted) believe that while no government is going to decide over night to give up the method of war, they may be forced by the surge of public opinion to renounce nuclear weapons. "Agreed," Miss Morrison might say, but then she would envisage these same governments saying, "Right, if we can't use nuclear weapons we'll develop bacteriological warfare," and perhaps other as yet unimaginable horrors.

But there is another possibility. This victory for public opinion would start such a stream of thinking that thousands of people who today dismiss the whole thing with an exasperated shrug, would come to see that the only sane thing to do is to get rid of the whole crazy business and substitute instead the rule of law.

Perhaps I'm a starry-eyed optimist but, while I place no value on government efforts to limit the size of armies and so on, I do see in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament a power-house of enthusiasm and new thinking which will enormously strengthen the pacifist attack on war itself.

—EVELYN PEAT, Borers Platt, Ditchling, Sussex.

### Heroic act

A NEWS item reports the mercy mission of a US Coast Guard cutter ploughing through heavy seas to an Aleutian island bay to aid an injured Soviet seaman. This compassionate act, which rose above the international hatred of our day, stands out as a beacon pointing the way to sanity across the mortal-made wastes of a materialistic age.

Let us renounce the incredible, soul-staining profit in war industry, and build for humanity: this will bring self-respect, peace of mind and tranquility in our daily tasks, and when we face the final summons.

The heroic act of the Coast Guard cutter leads the way to a regenerated world. Let us follow by converting our war vessels into ships of mercy, and try to live to be worthy of the name: "Sons of God."—LOUIS OBED RENNE, 114 Cornell Road, Menlo Park, Calif., USA.

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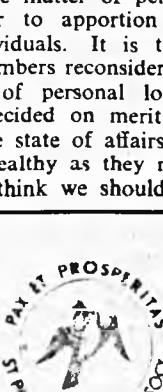
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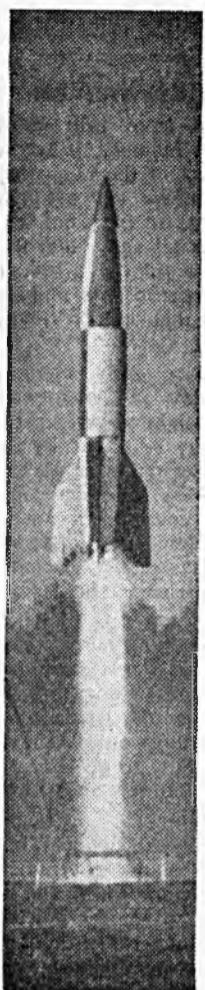
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# At the receiving end of Von Braun

By JAMES AVERY JOYCE

*"The President injected a personal note," reported the New York Times, "in presenting the Gold Medal to Dr. Von Braun, who fifteen years ago received the Knight's Cross from the German Government for his work in perfecting the V-2 rockets used to bombard London."*

*"My congratulations," the President remarked with a smile, "we're proud of you."*

*The Von Braun citation said: "The security of the nation and the free world has been enhanced by his great learning and his extraordinary achievements."*

MY eye stopped dead at these warmly congratulatory words, and my mind swung back with a sudden shudder 15 years—from fantasy to reality.

Darkness was about to close in on a chilly Spring day early in 1944, as my economics class met in what was left of Goldsmith's College of the University of London. In this south-east neighbourhood of London, which lay behind the docks and warehouses lining the River Thames, on the way out towards Greenwich, four years of bombings and blastings had left hardly a street intact.

The night raids, in later phases of the war, had slacked off somewhat, but had reduced Goldsmith's College from its original 30 classrooms to barely half a dozen. One of the best preserved of these was mine. I see it now, its paneless windows stuck up with uneven boards or stuffed with rain and soot blackened sandbags. There was probably not a single

pane of uncracked glass left in what was once a plain, but typically solid stone and brick college building, the home, before the war, of a flourishing workers' education programme, providing University training for thousands of South London teachers.

## OVER-NIGHT SWITCH

What exactly was the course we were taking together during that bleak winter of 1943-4? Around me in that dingy and very dusty room—for continual air-raids leave behind them, to put it mildly, a surprising amount of mineral fall-out on chairs, shelves, walls and windowsills—a dozen or so young men and women in Civil Defence uniforms were taking time off from their round-the-clock duties to participate in a lecture-discussion series entitled: "The Economics of Post-War Reconstruction." Such was the title of our course that winter—how to build a brand new world after Hitler's boys had been put down forever!

Our "Gallant Ally" (Churchill's term) had turned the Nazi tide back from Stalingrad; and it was not too premature to plan the coming peace. In fact, "Peace Planning" had become a popular lecture-course topic that winter. No one was bothering in England about *theoretical* economics. "The Beveridge Plan," "Town and Country Planning," "Industrial Nationalisation," "Land Utilisation," "National Health"—these were the big topics. Literally hundreds of tabloid pamphlets and pocket-sized guides to these realistic fields of study were printed both by official and non-official adult education agencies and circulated by the million.

The almost overnight switch from a Churchillian what-we-have-held wartime administration to a Labour plan-the-peace Government in the autumn of 1945—to the astonishment of especially American observers—was due more to this solid but little-publicised "underground movement" which had grown in strength during the darkest days of the War than to any other factor. Many of our formal classes and a wonderful network of informal discussion groups were held in the deep shelters, as well as in sandbagged- or concrete-enforced buildings, like the one we were occupying on the fatal night at Goldsmith's College.

## THE CRASH CAME

The crash came with terrific deafening suddenness—in the middle of a sentence. The V-2s gave us no warning: only a split-second swish, like a hurricane bursting from a bottle thrown against a mountain of dynamite. The whole room was a black



Left: A V2 is launched. Above: A V2 has fallen.

mass of stifling smoke and sharp, gritty flying dirt, mixed with that appalling stench of explosive chemicals combined with the filth and decay and earthiness of centuries, as old buildings disintegrate around you in the pitch blackness.

This special gift of light and learning from Hitler's gods of War and Macht had actually fallen in the street outside the still standing walls of the College, about three houses away. It is true that the V-2 rocket which Von Braun and his fellow Nazi scientists had invented, installed, and launched against London contained only one ton of TNT. One ton—a mere juvenile delinquent's Christmas toy-box compared with the real adult things he now has to play with, at \$50,000,000 a time. But what a change even one ton of old-fashioned TNT can make to flesh and blood! Strange to relate, the elevating thought that Von Braun had chosen as his main launching site, the grounds of the Peace Palace at the Hague, Holland, had no ideological effect whatever on what his missiles did to the human beings at the receiving end.

## NO MESS NEXT TIME

It was just before closing time for the shops in the neighbourhood when Von Braun's valuable contribution to the Hague Conventions prohibiting indiscriminate acts of war against civilians and non-combatants fell that evening on what I believed was a Co-operative Stores at the corner of the street. At that moment a dozen or more housewives, some with their little children, were putting their last-minute groceries in their shopping-bags or collecting their change.

Whether anyone survived I do not know. Clambering over this sudden desert of destroyed brickwork, chimney-tops, drainpipes and splinters of door frames, watching firemen and Civil Defence and Red Cross workers, who were within minutes at the spot, one could not even recognise the street any more. The supersonic speed of the V-2 rocket, accelerating from that great height—even in 1944—with that terrifying last split-second warning swish which merged with the ear-splitting explosion, had piled up debris into a vast amphitheatre which looked from the outer edges as though the whole of the street had disappeared into the very centre of the earth.

Is it necessary to describe what happens to human bodies when they become mixed up with this physical destruction of inert

matter? Or how unexpected, and unreal, is the sudden discovery that one's own hand or foot is touching what a few minutes before was part of another human being—now almost indistinguishable, protruding amidst thick layers of muck and filth which coagulates human blood into a sort of gluey stain on stone or brickwork or wood . . . ?

Fortunately—let us hasten to assure the too squeamish reader—this obscene messiness will not offend the eye so much if and when the American Defence Secretary's repeated promises "completely to destroy" Russia are fulfilled—for "retaliation" works both ways, of course. Von Braun's 20-megaton war-heads will burn up instantaneously and hygienically all human life within a 500 square mile radius—thus proving the superior benefits of nuclear atomisation and radiation over those "dirty" TNT missiles of fifteen years ago. Has the "security of the nation and the free world has been enhanced by his great learning and his extraordinary achievements"?

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## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.  
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, May 15

OXFORD: 8 p.m. Union Debating Hall; Public Meeting, Bishop of Llandaff, John Horner, Benn Levy, A. J. P. Taylor; CND.

Saturday, May 16

WIMBLEDON: 9 a.m.—8 p.m. Wimbledon Public Library, Hill Road. All day protest picket to oppose bar against Peace News. Helpers urgently needed. Phone: Charles Skilton. WFM 1209. PPU and CND.

Tuesday, May 19

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St., "The Present Situation in Nyasaland and Rhodesia"; Mrs. Coleman of Bulawayo. Central London PPU.

Wednesday, May 20

EDMONTON: 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Lower Fore Street, N.9. Group AGM. "Pacifism in the Nuclear Age." Sybil Morrison; refreshments. PPU.

Thursday, May 21

ALTON: 7.45 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill, last monthly meeting until autumn; report on AGM. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Wanstead Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. "The Development of Man and His Alphabet." Leslie Strudwick. PPU.

PALMERS GREEN: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Road, N.13. Speaker: Leonard Tomkinson, "China." PPU.

Friday, May 22

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m., 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. Local Tribunal for C.O.'s. Public Admitted.

Saturday, May 23

EPSOM: 2.45 p.m. 3 St. Martins Ave (or 3 p.m. outside Myers Hall). Poster Parade for meeting May 25 and Demonstration. Volunteers urgently needed. Phone Grace Smith, Epsom 2711. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

LONDON, N.21: 2.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Winchmore Hill. Re-union of FoR members and sympathisers. Rev. Mark Shirley "Lovers of Peace Within the Church." FoR.

Saturday—Sunday, May 23-24

ILKLEY: Hollybrook Guest House, Queens Rd., Week-end School on Non-Violence. Arlo Tatton and others. Details from Mrs. Higgins. The Brotherhood Church, Stapleton, Pontefract, Yorks Area PPU.

Sunday, May 24

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Pacifist Universalist Service. Rev. G. P. T. Paget King "Empire of God." PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, May 25

LONDON: 7.30 p.m. Royal Albert Hall. Public Meeting, "Modern War—a Challenge to Christians," Canon John Collins, Victor Gollancz, Dr. Gruber, Prof. Hromadka, Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, Rev. Mervyn Stockwood, Jill Balcon, John Neville. Friends Peace Committee and Christian Action.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m., 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd., Appellate Tribunal for C.O.s. Public Admitted.

Tuesday, May 26

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Mount St., PPU and CND. Stuart Morris, M.C. Cen. PPU.

Wednesday, May 27

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square. Report from First World Citizen Parliament. Commonwealth of World Citizens.

MANCHESTER: 3.10.30 a.m. Assembly Rooms, Blackfriars House, Parsonage. Local Tribunal for C.O.s. Public Admitted.

Friday, June 5

HULL: 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St., Tape Recording of Vinoba Bhava, presented by D. Sowerby. PPU.

Tuesday, June 2

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Caxton St. "Any Questions?"—follow-up of May 5 "Is Peace Possible" meeting. Prof. Penrose, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, J. Allen Skinner.

Saturday, June 6

HULL: 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St., Discussion "The Political Implications of Pacifism." PPU.

Saturday, June 6

SOUTHPORT: 10 a.m.-6 p.m. St. John's Hall, Scarisbrick St., Area Conference. Wilfred Wellock, Max Parker, Rev. G. Maland, FoR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall (Room 32) Symposium. "The Causes of War." Prof. T. H. Pear, Lucy Mair, Dr. Alex Comfort, followed by business meeting. Medical Assoc. for the Prevention of War.

Wednesday, June 10

DUNMOW: 7.30 p.m. Foakes Hall, 3rd Annual Film Show "The Choice of a Lifetime." Refreshments. Women's Crusade Against the H-bomb.

## Every week!

SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

## SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 7.2 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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# Olympics: Sportsmen press for colour bar ban

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



PEACE NEWS, May 15, 1959—7

## CLASSIFIED

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

### MEETINGS

END THE NUCLEAR MENACE. Woodford march and meeting. Whit Saturday, May 16, meeting 4 p.m., The Castle, Woodford Green. Assemble, 2.45 p.m. "The George," Wanstead. Speakers: Alex Comfort and others. Organ: Woodford and District Peace Committee.

### ACCOMMODATION

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### PERSONAL

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

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### LITERATURE

CONTACT—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 12s., 12 months £1 3s. 6d. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

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Sir John Hunt, the leader of the Everest Expedition, is noteworthy among them.

One becomes tired of names, even the most famous, but it should be recorded that among those who have backed this international appeal by an approach to the British Olympic Games Committee are Field Marshall Sir Claude Auchinleck, Lord Hemingford, Lord Boothby, Jo Grimond, the Liberal Leader, Elaine Burton, MP, who was British Olympic sprinter and jumper in 1924, and five bishops.

There are names the reader will have missed: Canon Collins, Father Huddleston, Michael Scott, Dr. Donald Soper. Of course, they have given support throughout.

One cannot anticipate the decision of the Munich International Olympic Games Committee, but one can say with confidence that the world-wide support which has been secured within a year for the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport guarantees its eventual success.

The effect in South Africa, where love of sport is deep, will be profound. This may prove to be the Achilles' Heel of apartheid.

FOOTNOTE. Fenner Brockway has been asked to go to Munich as representative of the South African Sports Association (inter-racial). He will be sending Peace News a report.



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## Africans test partnership

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE Northern Rhodesia African National Congress, led by London-educated Harry Nkumbula, has called the bluff of Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy ("Racial Partnership") Welensky.

Following an ultimatum to managers of hotels, cafes and restaurants in Lusaka and Broken Hill that the African National Congress would "put partnership into practice" as from 2 p.m. last Wednesday (May 6), well-behaved groups of Congress men are daily walking into these establishments and asking for service.

Such places, excepting two multi-racial hotels, are normally out of bounds to Africans.

Some cafes served their unwelcome customers with tea. Others refused, maintaining that the Africans were not properly dressed. Most of the demonstrators wore lounge suits and ties.

According to a South African Press Association report, Congress issued a statement saying that steps would be taken against hotels, cafes, restaurants, hospitals, schools, churches, dancing clubs and other public places which discriminated against Africans.

"We wish to put partnership into a practical application because it is the policy of the United Federal Party Government on which Federation is built," concluded the Congress statement.

### NEXT WEEK . . .

A Special Issue of Peace News for the Albert Hall rally:

War challenges Christians.

Richard Ullman, Quaker spokesman, reports on the Christian Peace Conference in Prague.

Andre Trocme: "The Idol Must Be Destroyed."

Wallace Hancock: "A Layman Looks at Religion."

Cartoon by Mays.

Order extra copies at 3s. a doz. for free distribution now.

THE New Statesman, in making a somewhat enraged, though perfectly understandable attack upon the obsequious trappings of the recent Royal welcome to the Shah of Persia, let slip in its Leader last week the words I have quoted above. Perhaps in a few seemingly innocent lines there could not lie a more complete indictment of war and all its immoral expediencies.

The Queen, it is understood, cannot always choose her guests, and must, if diplomacy demands, entertain the most unsavoury of characters, should he be a monarch whose possessions and whose country's geographical position may be economically and militarily of importance to this country.

And that is the real crux of matter; the importance of such outward friendships with other countries and their rulers, lies in the necessity to maintain military liaisons. If it is true that a nation may be forced to choose for an ally a nation whose leaders impose a totalitarian regime of horror it is a deep censure upon the whole basis of the war method which cannot be lightly and unquestioningly dismissed in a few passing words, as the New Statesman leader-writer does with an air, almost, of complacency.

In fact, it is not even true that when it

## PRISON H-PROTEST

### Fuchs leads hunger strike

WAKEFIELD PRISON saw the second great peace demonstration in its history when prisoners on Monday of last week refused their mid-day meal as a gesture of solidarity with supporters of nuclear disarmament beyond the prison walls.

Leader of the demonstration was Dr. Klaus Fuchs, son of the distinguished German Quaker and pacifist, Professor Emil Fuchs, who this week celebrates his 85th birthday in Leipzig.

According to the Sunday newspaper, The People, 700 prisoners refused the meal. A Home Office statement put the figure at 30.

"Every precaution was taken not to give any excuse for official counter-measures," reported The People. On Monday the prisoners filed quietly to their places in the huge communal dining hall.

"When dinner was served they sat stolidly, refusing to eat a mouthful.

Bewildered prison officers were told "This is nothing to do with any prison grouse. We are protesting against the H-bomb!"

### World Citizens' Parliament

From Francis Rona

THE first Parliamentary Session of the Commonwealth of World Citizens was held in Vienna from May 4-8.

Some 40 deputies and several observers arrived from all parts of the world, the former were elected in 20 "zones" (independently from national frontiers) by individual citizens of this Commonwealth. The list of deputies included: Dr. Hugh J. Schonfield (president), J. G. Ohsawa (Japan), the economist Nguyen-Hou (Saigon, Vietnam), D. V. Btsh (Argentina), Prof. Renzo Sola (Italy), Baroness Anita von Randow (Germany), M. L. Mittal, Gen. Sec. of the Indian T.U., Prof. Alfred Nahon (France), Mrs. H. M. Schonfield and Mrs. Frieda Bacon from the U.K., and Directrice Mary Hays Weik, USA.

The purpose of the session was to elect an interim Government and to expand the activities of this Commonwealth.

On the suggestion of Prof. Jean Inebnit, the World Citizens' Chamber also discussed problems of underdeveloped areas and contacts with United Nations Agencies regarding the organisation of international voluntary service in case of catastrophes. Further, by a majority vote, the Chamber accepted a resolution containing a suggestion to all Governments that non-military alternative service should legally be accepted for CO's everywhere.

Dr. Fuchs, with the late Dr. John von Neumann, filed a "Disclosure of Invention" of the H-bomb on May 26, 1946, in the USA. He also gave information to the Soviet Government and for this he was tried in March, 1950, in Britain and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment. He is due to be released in about two months and is expected to go to an open prison near Gloucester for the remaining weeks of his sentence.

Wakefield flashback: On Sept. 18, 1918, conscientious objectors marched through the prison grounds singing and cheering following a decision not to co-operate in any way with the war effort. Additional warders sent from Armley Gaol locked the men up.

### Mac's visit to Russia

WITH Mr. Macmillan on his trip to Russia in February went his foremost Parliamentary critic Emrys Hughes, MP, not to advise but to report for Tribune on the event of world-wide interest.

Russian speaking Emrys Hughes not only describes the visit but adds comments on little known off-the-cuff speeches, and his own many talks with the man in the street in "Pilgrim's Progress in Russia," which will appear next week.

The book written in Emrys Hughes' own inimitable style would not be complete without the outlined alternative policy to the cold war. Twelve cartoons by Vicky and photographs from the recent House of Commons Library exhibition of the work of Russian photographers add to the entertainment and educational value. \*5s. (180 pp. paper jacket, postage 8d. extra) Housmans, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

### At a glance

"The coolest men at the display were five members of the West Riding Pacifist Youth Action Group," the Yorkshire Post said this week, reporting a Tank Regiment recruiting exhibition in Leeds. "They stood, breeze fanned under the trees, by the exhibition holding posters urging the banning of nuclear weapons and calling on people to 'Say No to War.'"

The Bradford Section of the Pacifist Youth Action Group have started open-air meetings at Hall Ings Car Park on Sunday evenings at 8 p.m. They will be selling Peace News and displaying PPU, CND and Quaker peace posters. Offers of help to G. K. Wilson, 23 Tyersal Lane, Bradford 4, Yorks.

## Wimbledon wants to read banned paper

PICKETS outside Wimbledon Library sold out of their supply of Peace News (72 copies) at 5.15 p.m. last Saturday.

For the second week running they were protesting against a Council decision not to have the newspaper in the public reading room. Over 80 copies were sold the previous week.

Under a front-page headline: "Pickets push sales of banned paper," the Wimbledon Boro' News told its readers that "the demonstrators, members of the Wimbledon branches of the Peace Pledge Union and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament . . . intend to continue picketing every Saturday until the Council change their decision."

The paper reported the organiser of the picket, Mr. A. E. Lintott, as saying: "This is a triumphant vindication of our opinion that Wimbledon residents want to read Peace News. It is not Communist, as has been alleged, and it has been shown to be wanted."

Charles Skilton, Secretary of the Wimbledon PPU, told Peace News this week that more volunteers for the picket would be welcomed. "Mr. Lintott and Mr. Alec Leaver (Chairman of Wimbledon CND) have gallantly borne the brunt of the picketing for two Saturdays."

Helpers can report outside the Public Library in Hill Road at any time between 9 a.m. and 8 p.m. on Saturday, although it would be of help if they could telephone Mr. Skilton at WIM 1009 and say when they expect to be there.

The Borough Librarian has told the Wimbledon Boro' News that if there was a public demand for the paper the Council might well change their decision.

In a letter to the editor of the Boro' News, the Secretary of the local Young Liberals, Paul G. Whittle, says that the banning of the paper is the "thin edge of a very dangerous wedge."

The time for a combined and vociferous protest is not later—when other publications may also have disappeared from the library—but now."

In another letter, a local resident, Mrs. Jean Gaffin, writes: "I am not a pacifist, but like most people I am interested in peace and so have, from time to time read Peace News. I just could not imagine why it should be considered unfit for we rate-payers to read. . . . If we can have no literature dedicated solely to the cause of peace, then why not ban the religious publication, The Friend of the Quakers, for instance?"

upon the ultimate use of war, and in war, any expediency, however shocking or immoral, is acceptable under the name of NECESSITY.

If there had been no Hitler war, it is impossible to imagine that Britain would have been ready not only to fight alongside a nation of people who had massacred in cold blood a king and all his family as well as a million or more of ordinary innocent people, but ready also to send their Prime Minister to wine and dine with the principle policy-maker of that régime.

If the diplomatic manoeuvres of the Foreign Office are to be condemned when they intrude upon the Palace it is time to consider whether they should not also be condemned out of hand, as the hypocritical, abasing business they are, when they intrude upon the lives and consciences of ordinary people. These false friendships are part of war; it is war that must go.

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## By Sybil Morrison

### FALSE FRIENDSHIPS

*A nation cannot of course choose its allies; it may sometimes be necessary to form ties with a Government whose principles evoke horror. If so, the arrangements should be kept to essentials. It is both hypocritical and corrupting to place it on a basis of mutual friendship.—The New Statesman & Nation, May 8, 1959.*

has been considered militarily necessary in the past to accept as allies a nation whose Government's policy to its own nationals is abhorrent, only essentials have been kept to in the liaison.

On the contrary, when the Soviet Union was accepted as an ally by the West during the Second World War, Churchill, who had been foremost in his forthright denunciation of the purges and false trials, the Siberian labour camps and the massacres of the kulaks, went far beyond what could be called essentials in his broadcast of welcome to Stalin, and also when he "fraternised" with him at Yalta and Teheran.

To read his own account of his "hobnobbing," eating, and drinking with Stalin, to remember the almost fulsome praise of the Red Army and their exploits, is enough to show that it is not only at the Royal table that gold plate has matched the glitter of hypocritical words and actions which the needs of war demand.

The New Statesman rightly condemns the kind of policy which may sometime, sooner perhaps than later, bring even General Franco into the sacred fold of NATO, and of course, the next step might well be to fawning reception at Buckingham Palace.

But the New Statesman cannot have it both ways; either it is necessary as the leader asserts, to sometimes consort with a Government whose principles are abhorrent, for so-called good military reasons, or it is not; if it is accepted that it may be necessary sometimes "to form ties" with unsavoury characters for the purpose of "defence" or war, then it must be faced that General Franco under certain circumstances might be as useful a "comrade" as Stalin was during the last war.

NATO belongs to the aftermath of that war, and is part of what has come to be known as the Cold War; that alliance is there because foreign policies are based

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